

A Herstory of the Revolutionary Cells and Rote Zora

**Armed Resistance in
West Germany**





Herstory of the Revolutionary Cells

and Red Zora



The Revolutionary Cells (RZ) first appeared on November 16, 1973 with an attack against ITT in West Berlin to point out the participation of this multinational corporation in Pinochet's military putsch in Chile. In 1974, the first high-explosive attack was undertaken by the wimmin of the RZ against the Bundesverfassungsgesicht (Federal Constitutional Court) in Karlsruhe, the day after it supported the abortion law, Par. 218; a paragraph against free choice on abortion, allowing abortion only in certain cases. The wimmin naturally demanded the total right for every womyn to have an abortion, as a right to self-determination over their own bodies. In the first issue of Revolutionärer Zorn (Revolutionary Rage) the RZ subdivided their actions into three main categories: 1) anti-imperialist actions, 2) actions against the branches, establishments, and accomplices of Zionism in the FRG, and 3) actions supporting the struggles of workers, wimmin and youth, and attacking and punishing their enemies. This thematic spectrum was used in the following years.

One Revolutionary Cell became several Revolutionary Cells. Later on, in the late 70's, the militant actions by the RZ became also a part of the anti-nuclear movement (at that time people marched in thousands against nuclear power and reprocessing plants in Kalkar, Wyhl, Gorleben, and Brokdorf) and the Anti-Runway 18 West Movement (Anti-Startbahn 18 West-Bewegung) in the Rhein-Main area. In this context, only one attack with deadly consequence was carried out: the Minister of Economy and Transportation, Herbert Karry, was assassinated on May 11, 1981 by the RZ.

From 1977 onwards, the militant feminist anti-patriarchal wimmin's urban guerrilla group Rote Zora (Red Zora) acted auto-

nomously and independently, though some wimmin still participated in the Revolutionary Cells. "Wimmin were always a part of the armed groups. Their portion was mostly held back. But the times are changing...subversive wimmin's groups like Red Zora do exist, indeed still too few, but even that will be changing."--Red Zora.

Red Zora attacks predominantly patriarchal institutes, companies, and persons representing and building up a male sexist society, which is oppressing and exploiting wimmin worldwide. They are conducting campaigns against porntraders, sex shops, international traders of wimmin (those who profit from importing Asian wimmin as "brides" for West German men), doctors who are carrying out forced sterilizations, the Doctor's Guild ("We see the Federal Doctor's Guild as exponents of rape in white trenchcoats"), drug companies (notably Schering who produced the birth defect causing drug Duogynon), as well as computer companies such as Nixdorf and the multinational Siemens. Very popular as well was the illegal reprinting of bus and streetcar fares. In individual cases, Red Zora and the Revolutionary Cells have worked together such as in the writing of a critique of the peace movement in 1984. In this paper they criticized the peace movement as a bourgeois movement with an apocalyptic vision. The RZ and Red Zora said that the major mistake of the peace movement was to concentrate their political goal only on the preservation of peace in the metropolises instead of discussing the imperialist context between armament and crisis; Third World misery and social cutbacks; sexism and racism.

Anti-Imperialism Today

In the last three years the RZ have concentrated their actions on the issue of West German foreigner and refugee policies. "We want to contribute to the recovery of a concrete anti-imperialism in the FRG...Anti-imperialism



doesn't mean only attacks on the military industrial complex and it is more than just solidarity with liberation movements worldwide." (Quote from Revolutionary Page, October 1986).

Attacks such² as the one on the Center for the Central Register of Foreigners in Cologne on the one hand, or the Kneecapping of Hollenburg (Chief of Immigration Police in West Berlin) show the wide field of these militant politics. While those who are attacked are responsible for the racist refugee policies in the FRG and West Berlin, the intention of the attacks on institutions, whose documents, files, and data are being destroyed, is to procure a space which isn't controlled and regulated by the state. "But our actions will fizzle out ineffectually, if they don't contribute to a development of a new beginning of anti-imperialism within the radical left" (Quote by the RZ).


Since the early 70's, the RZ and Red Zora have launched over 200 attacks. Red Zora's most comprehensive and successful attack campaign so far has been the deposit of incendiary bombs in ten branches of the Adler Corporation, one of West Germany's largest clothing manufacturers selling discount clothing in the FRG, produced by low paid wimmin in South Korean and Sri Lankan factories. "The wimmin at Adler in South Korea struggle against the exploitation of their capacity for work and are putting up a fight against the daily sexism. They call for support from the FRG for their struggle. As a result, the shitty living and working conditions of wimmin in the vacuous production centers of the three continents and especially those of Adler in South Korea and Sri Lanka are becoming more widely known here through leaflets, events, and actions in front of Adler's retail centers. In these actions, anti-imperialism can be practical." (Quote from Red Zora, in their Adler statement.)

In a later released statement from Red Zora, the consideration was again concretized that the attacks were the correct strategy: "Consciousness had already been raised through leaflet actions organized by human rights groups (Terre des Femmes) and independent church groups. So preparatory work had been done. The wimmin

in South Korea have taken control of and defended their own situation." They went on strike to protest low minimum wages, lay offs, deplorable work conditions, and rampant sexism from West German foremen. "So it was possible that the struggle there (by the wimmin in South Korea) and the struggle here (by Red Zora) are compatible. We aren't fighting for the wimmin in the Third World," they said, "we're fighting alongside them." This defines Red Zora's struggle against imperialism.

In 1987, when Red Zora and their sister group in West Berlin, the Amazonen, fire bombed ten Adler outlets throughout West Germany, they caused millions of dollars in damages. Because of this, Adler was forced to meet the demands of the textile workers. Red Zora and the Amazonen clearly proved that militant resistance can be very effective.

Both the Revolutionary Cells and Red Zora have anti-authoritarian structures and a decentralized decision-making process for choosing targets. As well, they point out that militant direct actions are just one part of the revolutionary movement. Although they participate in extensive and far-reaching legal work campaigns and social movements through their militant actions, these actions aren't of any more importance to handing out flyers or leaflets, going to demonstrations, having sit-ins, publishing newspapers,

	<p style="text-align: center;">Adler BEKLEIDUNGSMARKT</p> <p><u>WIR STELLEN EIN:</u> Frauen zwischen 18 und 25 Jahren, für max. 5 Jahre.</p> <p><u>WIR GARANTIEREN:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - maximale AUSBEUTUNG - absolute NIEDRIGLÖHNE - keine ARBEITER/INNEN-RECHTE - hohen MENSCHENVERSCHLEISS - keine soziale ABSICHERUNG 	<p style="text-align: center;">Adler CLOTHING MANUFACTURER</p> <p><u>WE RE HIRING:</u> Wimmin between 18 and 25 for a max. of 5 years.</p> <p><u>WE GUARANTEE:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - maximum exploitation - absolute minimum wages - no worker rights - lots of physical & mental stress - no social security
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educating people, squatting houses, or organizing strikes at work. "We don't have a hierarchical system for choosing actions. Thinking in hierarchical divisions puts actions in a perspective of privilege and is prone to a patriarchal way of thinking." (Quote by members of the RZ in an interview that appeared in Autonomie, 1980.)

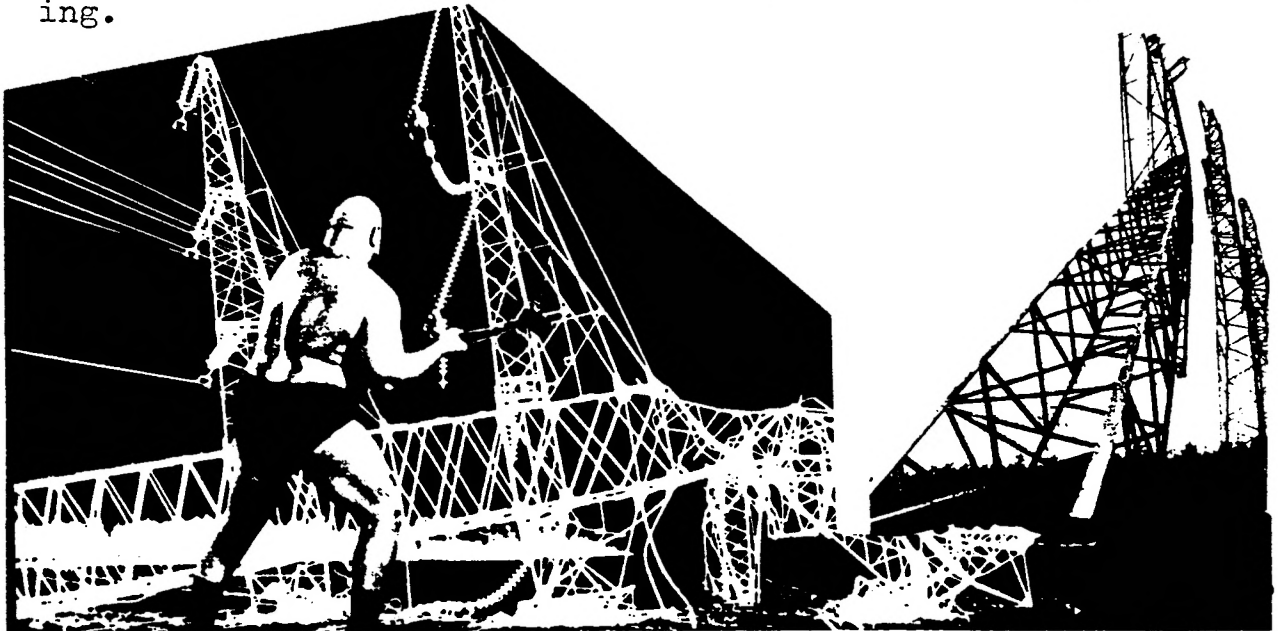
Besides the RZ and Red Zora, there exists several other militant autonomous groups who are all integral components of the revolutionary movement in West Germany and West Berlin. Most of these groups originate from the mass social movements of the 80's. They all work independently of each other and issue political statements of their actions, much like the RZ and Red Zora, but unlike them, many of these groups haven't been around very long.

In 1986, at the peak of resistance against the nuclear power plant in Brokdorf and the nuclear reprocessing plant in Wackersdorf, thousands of people participated in demonstrations as a part of the anti-nuclear movement. During this time, several hundred attacks were made by militant autonomous cells against certain companies and corporations to protest their involvement in the nuclear industry. The most popular activity at this time was sawing down electric power lines that were directly connected to the nuclear power plants. Around 2-300 attacks were made. Some of the militant autonomous groups from this period have survived into the present. Others have disbanded and have gone on to influence and form other groups. Following is a list of a few of these groups. It would be impossible to name all of them.

- Revolutionäre Handwerker: involved in direct actions against nuclear plants by sawing down electric power lines. No longer active.
- Amazonen: sister group of Red Zora, but independent of them. Two people are currently in jail for being members of the Amazonen.
- Zornige Viren: on January 2, 1989, attacked the Gen-Institut (Gene Institute) at the University of Darmstadt causing DM2,000,000

in damages.

- Autonome Zellen Alois Sonnenleitner (AS): autonomous anti-nuclear cell. Destroyed excavators, trucks, and building site of Hofmeister AG (an NPP company) by setting fire to them. Alois Sonnenleitner was an elderly man who was killed in Wackersdorf by the cops in 1986. Still active.
- Revolutionäre Viren: fighting gene technology, human genetics, and biotechnology.
- Anti-rassistische Zellen: carrying out actions against Shell.
- Kämpfende Einheiten: "Fighting Units". Anti-imperialist cells attacking military industrial complexes. One cell, Kämpfende Einheit Crespo Cepa Galende, named itself after an ETA (Basque guerrilla organization) fighter who was killed by the Spanish authorities. Made an attack on a border police security building.



The militant direct action groups in West Germany and West Berlin have received widespread support from the larger movements there, including from some of the more liberal organizations. This is partially because the underground cells are dependent on the larger movements and, as well, are active in them. Their actions address issues that many people are already educated on and sympathetic to. For example, Red Zora has gained wide popular support because their actions appeal to the massive feminist movement already existing in West Germany, where the leftist and radical media has been doing much work for some time now to ed-

ucate the public on issues involving sexism, wimmin's oppression and exploitation, and wimmin's rights to the control of their own bodies. While the RZ doesn't claim as much support as Red Zora, in 1987, supporters of the Revolutionary Cells published the book Der Weg zum Erfolg (The Way to Success), explaining their strategies, politics, and actions. Less than a week after the book hit the shelves of radical bookstores, the entire printing (around 3000) was sold out.

The high degree of effectiveness of many RZ and Red Zora actions wouldn't be possible without popular support. By themselves, their actions would only serve to alienate them from the struggle. Moreover, with the support of the mass movements, members of the RZ and Red Zora are able to work among the numbers of people active in the struggle without exposing their underground identities. In their herstory, only one womyn has been arrested for membership in Red Zora, but due to a lack of evidence against her, the charges were dropped. The RZ, however, has had a few convictions over the past 16 years. Ingrid Strobl, most recently was sentenced to five years in prison on the 9th of June 1989 for being a member of the RZ. Her sentence is the longest issued to any of the convicted RZ members. While prisoner support is an important task that consumes a great amount of time, most of the work is done by the larger movement, and the RZ and Red Zora can continue organizing actions against oppressive, imperialist companies and corporations.

DER KAMPF GEHT WEITER !!!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES !!





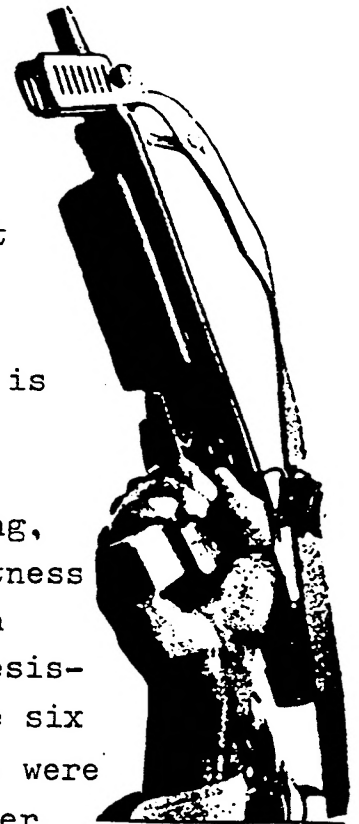
Other revolutionaries sentenced to prison:

- Erik Prauss and Andrea Sievering: accused of membership in the "terrorist" organization, Red Army Faction (RAF), and a bombing of Dornier, a war corporation, which caused 1.3 million DM in damages. Each was sentenced to 9 years in prison on January 18, 1989.
- Norbert Hofmeier, Barbara Perau, Thomas Thoene, and Thomas Richter: accused of membership in the RAF and a bombing. Sentenced all together to 32 years on January 20, 1989. Sentencing judge

(Arend) also sentenced Ingrid Strobl.

Hofmeier- 10 years. Perau- 9, Thoene- 9, Richter- 4.

In both of the trials involving the mentioned people, the BAW (Federal State Prosecutors) and the judges were alledging that the accused people were members of the RAF, but this was the false claim of the court to get these people stiffer sentences. Both attacks (the one at Dornier, and the other at the border police security building) were claimed by Kämpfende Einheiten. This group works independently from the RAF. But since the RAF is defined as a "terrorist" organization by the state, conviction as a member can carry a longer sentence. Kämpfende Einheiten isn't defined as such and would not be subject to as heavy a sentence. So the BAW and the judges set up the construct of the Whole-RAF (Gesamt-RAF) and claimed that Kämpfende Einheiten is a part of the RAF.



At the trial of Erik and Andrea, Eva-Haule Frimpong, an imprisoned member of the RAF, stated on the witness stand that "in 4 years, no one but myself has been caught from the RAF. The twelve comrades of the resistance who were supposedly arrested since then (the six from Kiefernstrasse nor the people from Stuttgart) were not organized in the RAF." (Quote by Eva on November 29, 1988).

- Fritz Storim: sentenced to one year in prison. A teacher, accused of supporting the RAF. Supposedly a member of the autonomous newsjournal SABOT which published articles in solidarity with the RAF.



The following interview was sent to the German women's magazine Emma, and although it wasn't an interview by Emma, it was published in June '84. In 1974 'women of the RZs' bombed the Supreme Court which had decided one day earlier to withdraw the reform of the abortion law. In '77 women of 'Rote Zora' bombed the Federal Doctor's Guild in Cologne stating: "We see the Federal Doctor's Guild as exponents of rape in white trenchcoats." This was followed by the attacks on pornography stores, women traders, and the Schering company which was put on trial for producing the birth defect-inducing Duogynon pill. In August 1983 they blew up the bus of Gunther Menger in front of his villa. He is a trader (buys and sells) of 'Thai-girls'. These women traders serve German men exotic women under 'terms of delivery' with a list of 'types' and possible 'testing'. Provision: \$500(Can), but costs "will soon be compensated because girls from the Far East don't smoke and drink." The courts and police cannot see a legal way to stop these modern slave traders. Die Spiegel wrote at that time "These women traders only have to fear the 'Red Zora'." This interview is the first one where they explain why they struggle autonomously inside the RZs and the nature of their relationship to the women's movement.

Resistance is Possible

ROTE ZORA



Let's start with who you are.

Zora 1: If this is a personal question then we are women between the ages of 20 and 51. Some of us sell our labour, some of us take what we need, and others are 'parasites' on the welfare state. Some have children, some don't. Some women are lesbians, others love men. We buy in disgusting supermarkets, we live in ugly houses, we like going for walks or to the cinema, the theatre, or the disco. We have parties and cultivate idleness. And of course we live with the contradiction that many things we want to do can't be done spontaneously. But after successful actions we have great fun.

What does your name mean?

Zora 2: 'The Red Zora and her Gang' (a children's book)—that is the wild street kid who steals from the rich to give to the poor. Until today it seems to be a male privilege to build gangs or to act outside the law. Yet particularly because girls and women are strangled by thousands of personal and political chains this should make us masses of 'bandits' fighting for our freedom, our dignity, and our humanity. Law and order are fundamentally against us, even if we have hardly achieved any rights and have to fight for them daily. Radical women's struggles and loyalty to the law—there is no way they go together!

Yet it is no coincidence that your name has the same first letters as the Revolutionary Cells (RZ).

Zora 1: No; of course not. Rote Zora expresses the fact that we have the same principles as the RZs, the same concept of building illegal structures and a network which is not controlled by the state apparatus. This is so we can carry our subversive direct actions—in connection with the open legal struggles of various movements. "We strike back"—this slogan

of the women of May 1968 is no longer as controversial today regarding individual violence against women. But it is still very controversial, and most of the time taboo as an answer to the power conditions that steadily produce this violence.

What actions have you carried out and what was the background?

Zora 2: The women of RZ started in 1974 with the bombing of the Supreme Court in Karlsruhe because we all wanted the total abolishment of §218 (the abortion law). In the Walpurgisnight (last day of April, 'Women Take Back the Night') 1977 we bombed the Federal Doctor's Guild because they undermined even this reduced abortion reform. Then followed the bombing against Schering during its Duogynon trial, and constant attacks against sex-shops. Actually one of these porno stores should burn or be devastated every day! Therefore we think it absolutely necessary to tear the oppression of women as sexual objects and producers of children out of the 'private domain' and to show our anger and hate with fire and flames.

Zora 1: We don't limit ourselves of direct or obvious women's oppression. As women we are also concerned about social power conditions, whether it be urban or environmental destruction, or capitalist ways of production; the same conditions men are confronted with. We don't like the left 'division of labour' under the motto: the women for the women's question, the men for the general political themes. Nobody can take away from us the responsibility for changing our everyday life. Therefore, for example, we have set fire to the fancy cars of the lawyers of 'slumlord' Kaussen, who were responsible for a series of brutal evictions. Together with the RZs we printed pirate public transportation tickets and distributed them in the Rulo area to

introduce a little bit of zero-tariff.

Zora 2: Our latest bombings were directed against Siemens and the computer company Nixdorf. They promote the development of new domination technology for more sophisticated possibilities of war production and counter-revolution. They also have the function of remodeling labour, especially on the backs of women world-wide. Women here will be exploited with the technology of these companies by working isolated from each other in part-time jobs, without social security. The women of the so-called Third World will be worn out by producing these technologies. At the age of 25 they are totally ruined.

How important is the connection to the Third World, the exploitation of women there, for you?

Zora 1: In all our attacks we've declared this context, also when we attacked the women traders and the Philippine Embassy last year. We don't struggle for women in the Third World—we instead struggle with them—for example against the exploitation of women as a commodity. This modern slave trade has its equivalent in the conjugal possession conditions here. The forms of oppression are different but they all have the same roots. Nobody can play cards with us any longer. The separation between men and women has its equivalent internationally in the separation between people of the First and Third World. We ourselves profit from the international division of labour. We want to break with our involvement with this system and understand our common interests with women from other countries.

You explained how you understand your practice, but you didn't explain why you organize yourself in the context of the RZs.

Zora 2: First of all the main reason is that these politics were developed by the RZs and we still think they are correct. During our development we determined our own content—therefore we organized autonomously as women—but we fall back on the experiences of the RZs. We also think that the cooperation of radical groups can strengthen the militant resistance. There were productive forms of cooperation such as the actions against the Reagan visit or the discussion paper about the peace movement. But there are also stressful discussions. Sometimes men who otherwise transform their radical breaking with this system into a consequent practice are alarmingly far away from realizing what anti-sexist struggle means and what meaning it has for social-revolutionary perspective. Between us women it is also controversial where the limits are, when a cooperation strengthens or paralyzes our women's struggle. But we think our feminist identity unites us with some women of the RZs.

Does that mean that you define yourself as feminists?

Zora 1: Yes, of course, we think the personal is political. Therefore, we believe that all things social, economic and political which structure and reinforce the so-called personal are an invitation for struggle, especially for us women. These are the chains we want to tear apart. But it is incomplete to make the oppression of women here in West Germany the only turning point of politics and not to see other oppressive conditions such as class

This interview from

RESISTANCE c/o Friends of Durruti, PO Box 790, STN A, Vancouver, BC, Canada, V6C2N6



oppression, racism, or the annihilation of whole peoples through imperialism. This attitude never understands the base of misery: that the oppression of women and sexual division of labour are presuppositions which are fundamental for oppression of any kind—against other races, minorities, the old and the sick, and especially against those who revolt.

Zora 2: For us difficulties start when feminist demands are used to demand 'equal rights' and recognition in this society. We don't want women in men's positions and reject women who make their career inside the patriarchal structure under the guise of women's struggles. Such careers remain an individual act from which only some privileged women can profit. Women are only allowed to design and manage power in this society if they advocate the interests of men.

The women's movement was quite strong in the '70s. It achieved some things in a legal way. For example: the struggle against the abortion law, publicity about violence against women in the family, and rape as an act of power and violence, the building of autonomous counter structures. Why do you then maintain the necessity of armed struggle?

Zora 1: Of course, the women's movement achieved a lot and for me the most important is the development of a broad consciousness about women's oppression in this society. Also women no longer experience their oppression as an individual case or think they themselves are responsible for it, instead women come together and experience their common strength. The things that were organized by the women's movement like women's bookstores, women's centres, women's newspapers, and meetings or congresses—all this has been part of the political reality for some time and is a strong part of the development of the struggle.

Zora 2: Some successes were rather an expression of the situation in a society which can allow women some leeway. Of course when they wanted women in the factories and offices they created more places in kindergartens, but this didn't lead to a basic change in the lifestyle of a

woman. It requires a continuous movement whose aims cannot be integrated, whose uncompromising section cannot be forced into legal forms, whose anger and dedication to non-parliamentary struggles and anti-institutional forms is expressed without limit.

Zora 1: The legal route is not sufficient because the usual repression and structures of violence are legal. It is legal if husbands beat and rape their wives. It is legal if women traders buy our Third World sisters and sell them to German men. It is legal when women ruin their health and do the monotonous work for subsistence wages. These are all violent conditions which we are no longer willing to accept and tolerate and which can't be changed solely by criticism. It was an important step to create a public consciousness about violence against women, but it didn't lead to its prevention. It is a phenomenon that the screaming unfairness which women suffer is met with an incredible proportion of ignorance. It is a tolerance which exposes male parasitism. This 'typical situation' is connected to the fact that there is not much resistance. Oppression is only recognized through resistance. Therefore we sabotage, boycott, damage, and take revenge for experienced violence and humiliation by attacking those who are responsible.

What do you think about the contemporary women's movement?

Zora 2: We think it wrong to talk about the women's movement. On the one hand the women's movement is understood as a result of long existing structures, of projects, encounter centres and of mysticism. There are many currents which do not reinforce each other very fruitfully, but instead partly exclude or fight each other. On the other hand new political impulses start from different contexts where women are becoming aware of their oppression and are radically questioning patriarchal structures and developing politics in the interests of women—for example women in Latin American solidarity groups, in anti-imperialist groups, in the squatter move-

ment. Therefore the saying "The women's movement is dead, long live the women's movement" is accurate. The women's movement is not a one issue like the anti-nuke or squatter movements, which will not survive if no more nuclear power plants are built, or no more property is available for speculation. The women's movement relates to the totality of patriarchal structures, their technology, their organization of labour, their relationship to nature, and it is therefore a phenomenon which won't disappear with the removal of some cancerous growths, but instead in the long process of social revolution.

Zora 1: The women's movement has never really analysed its defeat around the abortion law and around the state financing of projects like shelters for battered women. It lacks a rejection of state politics. Also, it anticipated the turning point in family politics through the wave of the new motherhood in the women's movement. Also, the class question never existed; social differences were denied by the universalization of sexist oppression. This makes it difficult to find an answer to the worsening of labour conditions, increasing oppression, and reactionary family politics in the present crisis. The lack of a perspective for action in order to react appropriately to the attack leads to the dilemma of either going offensively against reactionary politics or solely preserving the unfolding of leeway for women. We can't solve this problem in theory, but we don't think the building of women's committees (in the Green Party) is an appropriate solution. The experience is that women do not come to power by ways which exist directly to exclude women and to stabilize and conserve patriarchal domination. Therefore, we consider women's committees which want to organize greater influence in parties and institutions the wrong way.

Zora 2: But in the meantime other important discussions and analyses by women which consider the future development of society have begun to develop. The in-

Rote Zora & the Computers

The magical and often invoked year, 1984, is here.

We have celebrated its arrival with dignity by the bombings of the Saint-Sylvestre at Nixdorf and the Association of Credit Organizations.

We hope that as a result Nixdorf won't be able to move into its new glass building in 1984, as was anticipated. In this building worth 7 million DM, this electronic giant would centralize and develop the sale of its brains (15% increase in business in 1983). Nixdorf participated in the Bigfon glass fibres pilot-project in Hannover which will serve as a model for all Germany. What is clear is who besides the enterprises involved in the project will profit from this: the state bosses. Since the end of the year, the clients, chosen by mail, such as the Minister of the Economy and the government of Land of Basse-Saxe and connected

by a cable that cost more than \$65 million.

We hope to have rendered beyond threat some computers of the Association of Credit Organizations. This company, in its own words, the largest organization in Europe. It generates 9,000 pieces of intelligence information per year and accords 250 million in credit to its adherents every year. Thanks to its computers large capacity, it knows more about each individual than that person could say if interrogated without warning.

We oppose to strategies of division and individualization our collectivity, which we develop in the street against the oppression of women, sexism, racism and imperialist war, in the struggle for the squats and the autonomist centres, in the subversive attack against the centres of patriarchal power:

ROTE ZORA

creasing oppression, with the help of new technologies, is investigated from the point of view of the lowest echelons of our society, new wages and work structures for women are analysed, the indirect structures of women are understood. Many women understand and reject the everyday war against women—the wave of hard core porn and propaganda contemptuous of women—and the call of the society for increased motherhood and more femininity. They also understand that the setbacks in women's and family politics are presuppositions for the crisis and the new strategies of capital. The policy of population control, for example the change of the abortion law, is the attempt to have a qualitative influence on the development of the population. Among other things its aim is to multiply the 'healthy' German middle-class together with state sponsored genetic technology, which is a development we have to prevent. Today we need more urgently than ever before, a radical women's movement which has the power to prevent and break open the social and political encirclement, not only of women, but also of foreigners and minorities; a women's liberation movement which does not reduce the hope for revolution to a nice dream.

Do you understand yourself as being part of the women's movement, or of the guerrilla movement, or both and how do you see the context?

Zora 1: We are part of the women's movement. We struggle for women's liberation. Beside theoretical commonalities there also exists another unity between our practice and the legal women's movement, that is the personal radicalization which can encourage other women to resist and take themselves and the struggle seriously. It is the feeling of strength if you see that you can do things which before you were afraid of, and if you see that it brings about something. We would like to share this experience. We don't think it has to happen in the forms we choose. For example, take the women who disrupted a peep show by drawing women's symbols and dropping stink bombs—these actions encourage us, strengthen us, and we hope women feel the same way about our actions. Our dream is that everywhere small bands of women will exist, that in every city a rapist, a women trader, a battering husband, a misogynist publisher, a porn trader, a pig gynecologist should have to feel that a band of women will find them to attack them and make them look silly in public. For example, that it will be written on his house who he is and what he did, on his car, at his job—women's power everywhere!

How can you take responsibility for possibly endangering the lives of innocent people with your actions?

Zora 2: Why is it that people always assume that those who deal with explosives don't care about what is self-evident for yourselves, for the women's movement or the left. It's the opposite! Because of the possibility of endangering life we are forced to be especially responsible. You know as well as we do that we could give up if you were right with your question. It would be a paradox to struggle against a system for which life is only worthwhile as long as it is utilizable and at the same time

to become as cynical and brutal as that system. There were many actions we rejected because we couldn't eliminate the danger to innocent people. Some firms know this full well which is why they prefer to move into residential buildings. They speculate with our morals if they move into residential dwellings to protect their property.

What do you say against the argument: armed actions harm the movement. They are part of the reason for increasing surveillance of the women's movement to denounce it as terrorist, that it's split and isolated from the majority of women in the women's movement.

Zora 1: To harm the movement—you talk about the installation of repression. The actions don't harm the movement! It's the opposite, they should and can support the movement directly. Our attack on the women traders, for example, helped to expose their businesses to public light, to threaten them, and they now know they have to anticipate the resistance of women if they go on with their business. These 'gentlemen' know they have to anticipate resistance. We call this a strengthening of our movement.

Zora 2: For a long time the strategy of counter-revolution has begun to split the radical wing from the rest of the movement by any means and isolate them to weaken the whole movement. In the '70s we had the experience of what it means when sectors of the left adopt the propaganda of the state, when they start to present those who struggle uncompromisingly as responsible for state persecution, destruction, and repression. They not only confuse cause with effect, but also justify implicit state terror. Therefore, they weaken their own position. They narrow the frame of their protest and their resistance.

Zora 1: Our experience: To stay uncontrolled and to protect ourselves against state attacks a strong unity is necessary. We can no longer afford to have every group repeat the same mistakes. There must be structures in which we share knowledge and experiences which are useful for the movement.

How can non-autonomous, non-radical women understand what you want? Armed actions do have a 'scare away' effect.

Zora 2: Why doesn't it have a 'scare away' effect if a guy sells women, but it does if his car burns? Behind it is the fact that traditional social violence is accepted, whereas similar reprisals 'scare away'. Maybe it is scary if everyday reality is questioned. Women who get it pounded into their heads from the time they are little girls that they are victims get insecure if they are confronted with the fact that women are neither victims nor peaceful. This is a provocation. Those women who experience their powerlessness with rage can identify with our actions. As every act of violence against one woman creates an atmosphere of threat against all women—our actions contribute—even if they aim only against the individual responsible—to the development of an atmosphere of 'Resistance is possible!'

ROTE ZORA



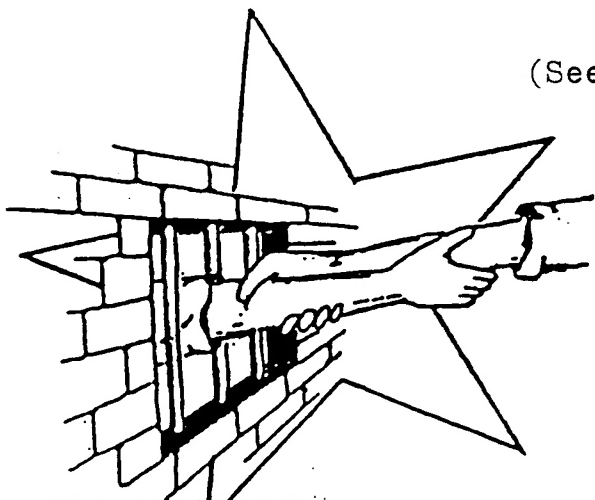
Contact addresses in Europe:

- Interim: weekly. Covers everything that is going on, mainly in West Berlin. Good news service. (in German)
Gneinenaustr. 2a
1000 West Berlin
Kreuzberg 61
West Germany (FRG)
- Radikal: autonomous, anti-imperialist, anarchist magazine. Documents and analyses of the militant resistance, mainly in FRG, Holland, Denmark. Radikal had to leave W. Berlin because they were charged under the "anti-terrorist" (par. 129a) law. (in German)
1) address letter to Z.K. in one envelope.
2) address a second (outer) envelope to:
NN
Van Ostadestraat 233-D
Netherlands 1073 TN Amsterdam

North American publications w/ info on militant resistance and those of us imprisoned in the struggle for freedom:

- Endless Struggle: Anarchist publication covering international struggles and movements. Free to prisoners and "no incomes".

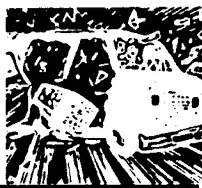
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Survival Network Newsletter

c/o arthur j. Miller
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This is an excellent bulletin of up to date news on prison, Native, labour and anarchist struggles. Readers of Reality Now should definitely subscribe to this, as well as send them material to print. Don't Miss it.

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P.O. Box 69393
Station K
Vancouver, B.C.
Canada V5K 4W6

Issue 1 contains A.B.C. info., Ecomedia and other @narchist news. Subs. are \$4 for 4 issues. Free to Prisoners. Issue 3 is even better than #1 or 2 definitely worth a read.

The Wimmin Prisoners' Survival Network

P.O. Box 770 Stn. P, Toronto Ontario,
M5S 2Z1, Canada

A publication for wimmin in prison, articles, poetry, etc. Anarchist. Free to wimmin in prison, see subscription info. on last page.

Committee To Fight Repression

P.O. Box 1435
Cathedral Station
New York, N.Y.
USA 10025

They publish "The Insurgent" which covers the anti-imperialist, Black Liberation, Puerto Rican Independence revolutionary resistance movements and prisoners. Subs. are \$6 for 6 issues. Foreign subs. are \$12. Free to prisoners.

Anarchist Black Cross

The Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) is an international support network, made up from autonomous groups, for anarchist and class war prisoners. Most of the different contacts have a publication or news service. The ABC is active on many levels on behalf of comrades who are locked down. Write to them for more info. All information and publications are free.

Toronto ABC, P.O. Box 6326 Stn. A,
Toronto Ontario M5W 1P7. Canada
Publishes pamphlets etc.

Vancouver ABC, Box 2881, Vancouver,
B.C. V6B 3X4, Canada Publishes
pamphlets etc.

California ABC, P.O. Box 215, San
Lorenzo Ca, 94580 USA

New York ABC, c/o Left Over, 983
Metropolitan Ave. #D3, Brooklyn NY,
1121 USA Publishes a newsletter.



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"Our liberation will be disaster for the rich and powerful". Open Road is one of our favorite papers. (yep, its totally cool). Highly recommended! Subs. are for two hours pay. Free to Prisoners.

GCN Prisoner Project Information Packets

GCN Prisoner Project, 62 Berkeley St.,
Boston, MA 02116

Information packets on the following topics:

Physical Safety; Your Right to Protection; Protective Custody: Getting In/Getting Out; Defending Yourself at Disciplinary Hearings; A Brief Guidebook

for Jailhouse Lawyers; Some Info on Jobs and Housing for Prisoners Coming Out of Prison; Censorship; AIDS: Medical/Political Issues; Transvestite/Transexual Issues; and Eric Mann's essay on how prisons divide and conquer. All of these packets are free to prisoners.



BREAKTHROUGH: Political journal of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. Covers US underground and progressive struggles, Third World Liberation struggles. Quarterly. John Brown Book Club. P.O.B. 14422, San Francisco, CA 94114 USA



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